



**Queensland University of Technology**  
Brisbane Australia

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted/accepted for publication in the following source:

[Davies, Sara E.](#), Nackers, Kimberly, & Teitt, Sarah  
(2014)  
Women, peace and security as an ASEAN priority.  
*Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68(3), pp. 333-355.

This file was downloaded from: <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/74796/>

© Copyright 2014 Taylor & Francis Group

**Notice:** *Changes introduced as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing and formatting may not be reflected in this document. For a definitive version of this work, please refer to the published source:*

<http://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2014.902030>

## **Women, Peace and Security as an ASEAN Priority**

Sara E Davies, Kimberly Nackers and Sarah Teitt

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat and its member states have repeatedly professed their commitment to the protection and advancement of women's economic and human rights. Such commitments have included the Declaration on the Advancement of Women in ASEAN in 1988, the ASEAN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 2004, and the ASEAN Declaration of Human Rights in 2012, as well as the establishment of the ASEAN Committee on Women in 2002 and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Women and Children in 2009. However, none of these regional commitments or institutions expressly take up the core concern of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda set out in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 in 2000. ASEAN has no 1325 regional action plan and amongst the ASEAN membership, the Philippines is the only state that has adopted a 1325 National Action Plan (NAP). We explore the possible reasons for lack of ASEAN institutional engagement with 1325, outline the case for regional engagement, and suggest specific roles for ASEAN Secretariat, donor governments and individual member states to commit to UNSCR 1325 as a regional priority.

In December 2011, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for the Asia Pacific (UN ESCAP) created, under the United Nations Asia-Pacific Regional Coordination Mechanism, an Asia-Pacific Regional Advisory Group on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) to provide advice and support on the 'effective implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific region' (UN ESCAP 2011).<sup>1</sup> The following year in March 2012, the Head of WPS Unit in UN Women South Asia, Roshmi Goswami, commented on the (lack of) progress of WPS in the Asia Pacific region:

What have the countries and women of Asia Pacific got to tell the rest of the world about making peace and security policy and changing established practice? A lot I believe! This is a highly diverse and plural region with some of the most intractable and protracted conflicts in the world. On the other hand this is also a region with some of the most dynamic, persistent and political peace building efforts led by feminist women and women human rights defenders. ... [W]hat are the best ways to raise the voices of women from our region, and translate their experience for the benefit of others? *Should Asia's sub-regional organisations be leveraged to push the agenda on Women Peace and Security? Could these bodies be drawn in to develop policy frameworks on 1325 the way that the African Union and European Union have done?* (UN Women South Asia 2012).

Later in the same year on 19 October 2012, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Socio-Cultural Community presided over its first Ministerial Meeting on Women (AMMW) in Vientiane, Laos. At the AMMW, John Hendra, UN

---

<sup>1</sup> WPS and UNSC Resolution 1325 are used interchangeably in this article.

Women's Deputy Executive, commended ASEAN for the creation of the AMMW, and the invitation being extended to UN Women. However, he also noted that despite ASEAN Ministerial level engagement on gender equality and empowerment, violence against women in ASEAN member states remained widespread and normalised (UN Women 2012).

In 2013, the World Health Organization (WHO), London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) and South African Medical Research Council reported that the WHO regions - South East Asian and Western Pacific (WHO-designated regions, both of which include ASEAN member states) had 'very high prevalence rates of physical and/or intimate partner violence' (WHO et al 2013: 20).

Outside the ASEAN region, historic strides have been made in recognising that pervasive and acute threats to women's peace and security is a cause of societal conflict and a barrier to sustainable peace. In 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), the first in its history on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) (UNSC 2000). Resolution 1325 referred to the obligation of states, regional organizations and international organizations, namely the United Nations (UN), to create conditions that addressed women's right to peace and security. The resolution noted evidence that the maintenance of international peace and security will only be achieved by direct efforts to improve and maintain women's security, as well as the engagement and inclusion of women in peace and security efforts – conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peace building, security sector reform and political settlements (UNSC 2000). The adoption of Resolution 1325 was ground-breaking in the Security Council for its *express* commitment to the establishment of mechanisms to enable women to participate in all matters of peace and security (Cohn et al 2004; United Nations 2010; Shepherd 2011); however, we also acknowledge ongoing critical engagement with this Resolution (i.e. Shepherd 2008; Pratt 2013). Since then, the UNSC has passed six more resolutions on WPS,<sup>2</sup> and - as requested - the Secretary General has issued yearly reports on implementation

---

<sup>2</sup> S/Res/1820, S/Res/1888, S/Res/1889, S/Res/1960, S/Res/2106, S/Res/2122.

by the UN and member states, specifically around the four pillars – prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery.<sup>3</sup>

To date, 41 countries have adopted 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs). This includes four within the Asia Pacific region – Australia, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal and Philippines. Amongst regional organizations, seven have referred to and integrated 1325 plans into their activities - African Union, European Union, International Conference of Great Lakes Region (IGLR), North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its Partners (NATO/EAPC), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and South African Development Community (SADC) (PeaceWomen 2013). The Organization for American States (OAS) held its 29<sup>th</sup> Policy Round Table (2011) on Implementation of Resolution 1325, at which a number of recommendations to strengthen WPS in the region were made (OAS 2011). In both national action plans and regional institutional engagement on UNSCR1325—as noted above by Ms. Goswami of UN Women—the South East Asia (ASEAN) and South Asia regions are notably underrepresented.

In light of all this, we argue that there is both a practical and normative need for ASEAN - through its member states – to give an express commitment to Resolution 1325. We examine the case in four parts. First, we outline the need for regional engagement with women as a peace and security and the case for making it a priority. We follow this by demonstrating that despite ASEAN's decade-long rhetorical commitment to gender mainstreaming and gender empowerment (Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002), ASEAN has not meaningfully considered how the region might (ought to) embrace UNSCR 1325 to situate women as central agents for regional peace and security. Third, we explore why ASEAN—as an institution—has avoided or neglected reference to WPS. ASEAN policymaking on the protection and promotion of women's human rights has been largely confined to socio-cultural or economic policy areas, which ASEAN leaders address separately from political and security concerns. This reflects, we argue, a limited understanding of the gender centralisation

---

<sup>3</sup> Full list of UNSG reports on WPS may be viewed at Security Council Report <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/search.php?IncludeBlogs=10&limit=15&tag=%22Secretary-General's%20Reports%22+AND+%22Women%20Peace%20and%20Security%22&ctype=Women.%20Peace%20and%20Security&rtype=Secretary-General's%20Reports&cbtype=women-peace-and-security> (accessed 2 August 2013).

goal that is core to the gender mainstreaming agenda (True 2008; Ní Aoláin et al 2011), resulting in a failure to engage in women's peace and security across the social and economic *and* political and security pillars. Finally, we suggest specific recommendations for the ASEAN Secretariat, member states and donor states to enhance WPS engagement in Southeast Asia.

### **Making the case for Women, Peace and Security in ASEAN**

ASEAN member states belong to a region that has a high proportion of intimate violence against women. By one measure - WomenStats database— ASEAN member states are all listed as having no, or very low, measures in place to provide for the physical security of women (Hudson et al 2013: MV1 Scale). In a study on women's political participation in the Asia Pacific, Jacqui True and her colleagues argued that 'High status for women has been claimed in South Eastern Asian (SEA) societies yet relative gender disparity and low levels of women's political representation compared with the rest of the world is pronounced' (True et al 2012: 18). As John Hendra (UN Women 2012) noted – despite ASEAN adopting strong language and declarations concerning violence against women - the estimates of violence against women remain unacceptably high.

The poor scores of ASEAN countries concerning economic empowerment, health and political status of women may be explained, in part, by its memberships' violent history (Bellamy and Drummond 2011; Goldsmith 2013). The majority of ASEAN states are post conflict countries or still grappling with political transition and conflict. Cambodia experienced a genocide where more than a third of its population were murdered and another third displaced in the late 1970s, with no political resolution of this conflict until the first elections were held in 1996. Vietnam's first conflict, with Laos and Cambodia, began in 1955. Indochina endured more than twenty years of war – with the presence of US and allied troops engaging in the war from 1965 to 1975. Large portions of Laotian, Vietnamese and Cambodian territory was (remains) covered in unexploded landmines from US operations during this time. The end of the Vietnam War in 1975 was then followed by Cambodia's Khmer Rouge-led invasion into Vietnam in 1979, which led to Vietnam intervention in Cambodia until their withdrawal in 1989. Myanmar to this day has a number of nationalist and ethnic

conflicts that has led to millions displaced, while it is presently undergoing its greatest political transformation since independence in 1947. Anti-communist purges resulted in the mass killing of an estimated half million people in Indonesia in 1965-66. Indonesia annexed East Timor after a violent Independence referendum was held in 1998; there remain ongoing political violence and instability in West Papua; and in 2005 the Indonesian government reached a peace accord, after an intense two-decade conflict with the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) independence movement in the autonomous province of Aceh. Thailand still has an ongoing low-intensity conflict, according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCPD), with its Muslim population in Southern Thailand. The Philippines has just finalised the first instalment of a peace accord with Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) after decades-long civil war in the semi-autonomous island of Mindanao.

There is, in sum, a sizeable number of ASEAN member states undergoing post conflict rebuilding, peace accords, conflict resolution, or experiencing low or high intensity armed conflicts. All are situations where the security of women is integral to the sustained peace and security of the region, and nearly all of the ongoing conflict situations within ASEAN region have little or no reference to the WPS agenda. Although women have been vital to peacemaking in the region, they have often been included only in informal or logistical support roles in peace processes. In the early stages of the Cambodian peace process, for example, a small number of women envoys conducted informal mediation to pave the way for official peace talks. Yet when the final stages of mediation culminated in the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, no women were involved in a formal capacity (UN Women: 2). The impact of the conflict on women, and women's understanding of what security should mean and entail in post-conflict Cambodia, were marginalized.

The same is true for the 2005 Helsinki Agreement between the government of Indonesia and the GAM to end the armed insurgency that had operated at fluctuating levels of intensity since 1976. Despite the varied experience of Acehnese women in the conflict (as active combatants, arms smugglers, intelligence gatherers, peace lobbyists, informal mediators, humanitarian relief operators, etc.), women were sidelined from the dialogue that led to the MOU between the Indonesian government and GAM in August 2005 (Lee-Koo 2012). According to Suraiya Kamaruzzaman

(2008:43), the exclusion of women not only failed to achieve the aims of Resolution 1325, but also meant that the gender-blind peace process ignored the impact of the conflict upon the life of all Aceh's people. In 2008, only three women served on the 43-member Aceh Reintegration Board, and the Aceh Transition Committee (the organization for ex-GAM members) had not a single woman in a leadership or decision-making position. Although a military 'women's wing' played an active role in the GAM's insurgency, no women were listed among the 3000 names eligible for the first round of ex-combatant compensation (Kamaruzzaman 2008: 44).

In the Philippines civil society networks have mobilized critical attention to the impact of the Mindanao conflict on women and worked to ensure that peace processes are responsive to the perspectives and priorities of women and it is the only country to have a 1325 NAP. Since 2004, a Malaysia-led International Monitoring Team has been responsible for monitoring and verifying a ceasefire between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). On 27 October 2009, the Philippine government and MILF Peace Panels agreed to include a Civilian Protection Component within the IMT. However, gender based atrocities have continued to occur in Mindanao. On 23 November 2009, some 200 members of a private army of the Ampatuan clan brutally killed 57 people in election-related violence in the Mindanao province of Maguindanao. Of the 24 female victims were the wife, two sisters and other female relatives of Esmael Mangudadatu, who was contesting the election against Andal Ampatuan, Jr. Five women were reportedly raped, and most were shot in the genitals and showed signs of torture and mutilation (AP 2009). However, in part due to the aftermath of this atrocity and the ongoing role of women in key leadership positions within the CPC process, Article 1(8) of the terms of reference for the CPC, signed in December 2009, explicitly referred to UNSCR 1325 and 1820 as guiding frameworks for the CPC's monitoring, verifying and reporting responsibilities. This was a significant move - but rare move amongst ASEAN states - in integrating core aspects of UNSCR 1325 in the peace process.

This is clear in the recent political inattention to UNSCR 1325 in peace processes in Myanmar. In line with commitments to domestic reforms, in August 2011 President Thein Sein issued an official invitation for all armed groups to enter into peace talks with the government. However, with an appallingly low level of women's political

participation generally, unsurprisingly women were all but excluded in the governments decision-making roles: the two delegations established to lead the government peace negotiations included 12 men and no women; the Union Peace Making Central Committee established in May 2012 comprised 11 members, with no women; and only two female parliamentarians sat on the Union Peace Working Committee consisting of 52 members. In early 2012 a small number of women who have represented armed groups in formal ceasefire negotiations sought to link women's human rights with peace efforts (Lahtaw and Raw 2012: 8).<sup>4</sup> This led to the first national-level seminar on UNSCR 1325 in Myanmar, held in early 2012, credited with hastening the development of the Kachin Women's Network amidst heavy fighting in Kachin State, and helping the Mon Women's Organization to support a female negotiator in their peace process (Narkichien and Gasser 2013).

However, there are currently twenty ongoing peace negotiations in Myanmar in a country where gender inequality is amongst the highest in the region (Heldström 2013). Ethnic women in Myanmar, particularly the Rohingya, are highly vulnerable to dual forms of exclusion due to their low socio-economic status and their ethnic discrimination by the state and wider population (Mizzima News 2013). Among the recommendations for centralising gender security, gender experts in Myanmar have called for more capacity building seminars and workshops on CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 targeted for men and women in armed groups, government and civil society (Lahtaw and Raw 2012). It has been argued that at this stage of transition and dependence on the removal of trade barriers, the regional and international community is best placed to induce the Myanmar state to ensure women's inclusion and peace accords that focus on gender-specific issues and rights (Heldström 2013: 13).

These examples are indicative of the clear need for greater attention to be paid to gender (in)security in Southeast Asia, local calls for support around UNSCR 1325 and the value added by raising awareness, building networks, and investing in activities

---

<sup>4</sup> Women who have led or played a central role in their respective peace negotiations include Naw Zipporah Sein (General Secretary of the Karen National Union), Mi Sardar (Central Committee member of the New Mon State Party), and Maw Oo Myah (alias Naw Dae Dae Paw, Religious and Culture Minister of the Karenni National Progressive Party). Naw May Oo also played a key role as a legal advisor to the KNU negotiation team.



related to WPS in the region (UN Women Asia and the Pacific 2014). Yet, to date there is no comprehensive baseline analysis, or a clear articulation of goals or timeframes for advancing WPS in the ASEAN region. The momentum lost in ad hoc strategies translates to a poorer record of protecting Southeast Asian women's human rights in conflict-affected areas, diminishes prospects for addressing the economic marginalization and social injustices that fuel conflict, and stymies regional efforts to adequately tackle other cross-cutting issues that have crowded the region's women's human rights agenda: human trafficking, impunity for gender-based violence, improving women's health standards, ensuring the rights of women migrants and safeguarding women's property rights.

In the next section we highlight how most ASEAN discussions revolve around violence against women and gender-focused development. We contend that these interventions, though important, diminish claims of gender mainstreaming when focus and discourse in political-security dialogue between ASEAN members excludes discussion and participation of women (True 2008; D'Costa and Lee-Koo 2009).

### **ASEAN and Engagement in Women's Peace and Security**

A statement by Vietnam on behalf of ASEAN at the Security Council's Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security (April 2013), based on the UN Secretary-General's 2013 report on sexual violence in armed conflict, affirmed the organization's support for United Nations Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010) (Trung 2013). This statement is notable perhaps less for its content than because it was the strongest statement from ASEAN to date on the WPS agenda. Although ASEAN—through Vietnam's statement, which made reference to a number of ASEAN mechanisms to support women—acknowledged that 'women's empowerment and gender equality' is essential to addressing the 'root causes' that lead to women's vulnerability in conflict (Trung 2013), no ASEAN regional instrument expressly endorses or seeks to implement core aspects of the WPS agenda related to ensuring that women are central to all aspects of peace and security policy. In the following section, we examine the absence of WPS from ASEAN regional instruments that discuss the status and welfare of women.

The ASEAN Commission on Women (ACW) serves as the primary mechanism for coordinating and monitoring ASEAN activities on the status of women (Philippine Commission on Women 2009). Among other programs the ACW manages, their activities include overseeing the operationalization of both the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women in the ASEAN region and the Declaration of the Advancement of Women in the ASEAN Region, and encouraging ASEAN bodies and member states to integrate gender mainstreaming in their policies and actions (ACW 2006, ASEAN 2012d: 12-16, Philippine Commission on Women 2009). The ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women (AMMW) is the most recently developed mechanism within ASEAN to institutionalise gender mainstreaming, which commits all ten ASEAN Member states to promoting the status of women at the regional level (ASEAN 2012). This mechanism draws upon a number of initiatives related to the status of women at both the regional and international levels, and works in conjunction with the ACW and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) (ASEAN 2012, 2012b).

The ACWC is another mechanism through which the status of women is considered. Its mandate includes the promotion of 'the implementation of international instruments, ASEAN instruments and other instruments related to the rights of women and children' and 'To encourage ASEAN Member States to consider acceding to, and ratifying, international human rights instruments related to women and children' (ASEAN 2009a: 5-8). Due to these generalised statements, the scope of the ACWC mandate potentially includes the WPS agenda. Yet none of the UN resolutions on WPS are specifically mentioned in the terms of reference, while the document directly references the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

At the ACWC meeting held in July 2013, a draft declaration was developed on the prevention of violence against women and children (the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Elimination of Violence Against Children), which was signed by ASEAN member states on 9 October at the ASEAN Summit in Brunei (Sulaiman 2013). The declaration further strengthens existing measures to combat VAW through ASEAN and will include a survey on cases of violence against women and children in ASEAN states, which will be used to enact or

amend laws to protect women and children. This declaration is potentially critical for furthering WPS in ASEAN, as it is the first to expressly recall WPS resolutions and enhances the ‘coverage of vulnerabilities and emerging forms of abuse confronted by women and children’, which include ‘conflict, migration, disaster emergency situations, climate change, human trafficking, labor, cyber based abuses, persons with disabilities, statelessness and belonging to ethnic and/or indigenous groups’ (ASEAN 2013a).

There are also sections on the status of women in the recent ASEAN Human Rights Declaration, which refer to human rights in the ASEAN region more generally. While this declaration draws upon the Declaration of the Advancement of Women in the ASEAN Region, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the ASEAN Region, women are only referred to in General Principle 4 as “vulnerable populations”, and under Civil and Political Rights 30, subsections 2 and 3 which affords special protection to women before and during motherhood (ASEAN 2012c).

Violence against women has been an ongoing theme on which ASEAN has engaged in women’s rights. The ASEAN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in the ASEAN region has been a major measure that addresses these issues, which all ten ASEAN member states adopted in 2004. Measures taken in the Declaration focus on the promotion of a ‘holistic approach to eliminate violence against women’ (ASEAN 2004: 2) through mechanisms on four areas of concern, which include services to survivors, responding to perpetrators, understanding the ‘nature and causes’ of violence against women and to change attitudes and behaviours that lead to violence against women (ASEAN 2004). While this approach is general and broad, the measures highlighted in the document focus squarely on equality and development rather than peace and security (Davies and Teitt 2013). As noted above, the ACWC Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and the Elimination of Violence Against Children has the real potential to expand this focus to further cover elements of the WPS agenda.

The economic status of women is another area that ASEAN has referred to as a key indicator of women’s empowerment in the Declaration of the Advancement of

Women in the ASEAN Region. Although the ACWC terms of reference is relatively general in its statements, it does claim that the promotion of ‘the well-being, development, empowerment and participation of women and children’ in ASEAN as one of its purposes (ASEAN 2009a). The ASEAN Declaration of the Elimination of Violence Against Women in the ASEAN Region, also addresses economic indicators, as it notes the need to ‘empower women and strengthen their economic independence’ in order to combat violence against women, thus, directly tying the incidence of violence against women to their economic status (ASEAN 2004: 2).

None of these regional measures or mechanisms expressly accept the core concern of the WPS agenda set out in Resolution 1325, ‘that states implement action at the national and regional level that demonstrate their understanding of the ‘impact of armed conflict on women and girls’, and that ‘effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security’ (UNSC 2000: 2). In its statement on ASEAN’s behalf, Vietnam argued that the regional measures detailed above address the causes of violence against women in conflict, which are related to women’s empowerment and gender equality (Trung 2013). In spite of this statement, there is no specific mention of violence that occurs against women in the specific context of armed conflict or post conflict in any of ASEAN’s measures or mechanisms, with the exception of the modest reference in the 2013 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and the Elimination of Violence Against Children. Thus, while many of the declarations and institutional mechanisms address the security of women, most of them refer to the protection of women, the prevention of (domestic) violence, and women’s participation in the (market) economy. Only rarely are there references to women in areas of conflict prevention, or women in governance and relief and recovery.

International donors and funded studies have also followed ASEAN’s lead and have focused on the issues covered by the existing mechanisms developed by ASEAN, while overlooking the lack of recognition of WPS at the political-security level in ASEAN forums (i.e. see Alvsåker 2012, CIDA 2010 and UN Women 2006). Oversight of WPS in ASEAN has been evident in both the UN and G8’s engagement with Southeast Asian countries. At the 4<sup>th</sup> joint summit in Bali in November 2011,

one of the four priority areas on which UN-ASEAN cooperation would occur included Political-Security Cooperation, which is a potential area in which significant action on WPS could be taken. However, the follow up 2013 ASEAN-UN Workshop on Lessons Learned and Best Practices in Conflict Prevention and Preventative Diplomacy failed to include any linkages between UN-ASEAN political-security cooperation and WPS among the many measures the UN and ASEAN could take to strengthen their partnership.

This brief analysis of ASEAN's engagement with women's peace and security from a socio-economic premise reveals that the discussion of women as agents for security and survivors of insecurity is rarely discussed. There is no open-source record of regional discussions about implementation of a 1325 action plan. The strongest regional document on women's protection - the terms of reference in the ASEAN Committee for the Promotion and Protection of Women and Children (ACWC) – women are primarily referred to in a 'victim narrative' context (Elias 2010: 79). Women require 'protection from violence', they need to be able to 'access their human rights' in full so as to participate in their own economic empowerment (ACWC ToR: 1.2, 2.1). The development of the AMMW and the ACWC has been part of a larger attempt to refocus ASEAN discussion away from 'traditional' security priorities to confront its collective insecurity in 'non-traditional' areas such as human security, human rights, climate change, conflict prevention, and health security (Davies 2013). However, these discussions are not taking place (for the most part) in the political-security arena and there are no efforts to develop benchmarks or indicators of progressive behavioural change amongst ASEAN states in these areas (see Haacke and Williams 2008; Davies 2012). Of concern for women in ASEAN region living in post conflict and conflict situations, the present focus on human rights and economic empowerment does not – on its own - remedy the physical insecurity, violence and discrimination they experience in these situations, which further inhibits any enjoyment of human rights and economic empowerment. Moreover, the present situation allows for ASEAN institution to claim advanced gender mainstreaming activities, when the reality is that we are not observing an institutional revolution where gender issues receive attention from actors in all issue-areas and stages of the policy process (Hafner Burton and Pollack 2002: 339). As noted recently in a Terms of Reference document prepared by a regional civil society consortia:

“The main challenge for promoting a regional policy advocacy strategy in Asia is that, despite the vibrancy of the women’s movement in Asia, there is currently no sustained and regular regional forum that is specifically and consistently focusing on women in conflict and post-conflict situations and on the women, peace and security agenda...Not all governments in South and Southeast Asia are willing and interested in dealing with the women, peace and security agenda”. (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development 2014).

In the next section we attempt to explain, to date, the absence of reference to WPS in ASEAN processes. We argue that the WPS gap reflects deeper institutional dynamics within ASEAN. First, as with the regional response to migrant domestic workers in the region, women’s security in conflict and post-conflict situations continues to be discussed primarily in protection terms. This perpetuates an ‘essentially conservative political agenda’ that dominates ASEAN politics and constrains engagement in the political-security institutions that perpetuate women’s insecurity in the ASEAN region (Elias 2010: 79). Second, while these initiatives demonstrate a degree of positive engagement with gender mainstreaming, it also reflects a general pattern that Mona Lena Krook and Jacqui True (2012) recently identified in relation to the UN, that gender mainstreaming changes policy-making processes rather than addressing ingrained patterns of gender inequality: ‘Mainstreaming has been increasingly promoted as a means for governments to achieve goals of growth and competitiveness and as a panacea in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction’ (Krook and True 2012: 121). In the ASEAN case, gender mainstreaming has produced a contradiction between, on one hand, high level discussion concerning women’s rights, and the inclusion of women in this dialogue, but at the same time a ‘persistence of patriarchal attitudes and gender stereotypes that do not encourage [all] women to participate in politics’ (True et al 2012: 18). We argue that these critiques of ASEAN conservatism and narrow policy-focused implementation of gender mainstreaming may explain ASEAN’s limited engagement with the 1325 agenda.

### **WPS and ASEAN - addressing the pillar gap**

ASEAN is based on the twin principles of sovereign non-interference and consensus decision-making, (the ‘ASEAN Way’) (Acharya 2009: 65-67). Since its creation in

1967, its main focus<sup>5</sup> has been on the preservation of peace and security between its members. The 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) is the key instrument that remains fundamental to ASEAN practice (ASEAN 2012). To this day, the TAC is the instrument all states wishing to engage in formal partnership with ASEAN must sign. In the ASEAN statement to the Security Council on WPS, it was argued that addressing sexual violence in conflict required tackling the root cause of conflict, which would invoke the TAC, as it is ASEAN's primary 'preventive mechanism which addresses the root causes of armed conflict' (Truong 2013).

The creation of an ASEAN Charter and its entry into force in 2009, marked a dramatic shift towards a legalisation of states commitment to ASEAN (Acharya 2009). In the same year the Charter was adopted, there was a watershed moment when the regional organization drew upon its Secretariat and membership to persuade the Myanmar government to accept international humanitarian assistance after the Cyclone Nargis disaster. ASEAN Secretary General Surin Pitsuwan took an unprecedented active role in persuading Myanmar to accept international assistance (Haacke 2009: 173). It has been argued that this case signalled a break from prior efforts to keep the ASEAN Secretariat away from advising on the duties and responsibilities of its member states towards its citizens (Acharya 2009: 65; Caballero-Anthony 2012).

However, others maintain that the ASEAN regional bloc is still resolute in its embrace of the sovereign non-interference norm over the protection of civilians (Haacke and Williams 2008). In the case of Cyclone Nargis and the (non) response of Myanmar's government, there were no efforts made by ASEAN to formalize the course of action and consultation taken by Secretary-General Surin. Nor has the ASEAN Charter – unlike those in the African Union and European Union – inspired the creation of a supranational assembly, council, court or parliament where shared laws and actions may be passed and possibly enforced against the wishes of another member state to protect populations (Acharya 2004: 146; Haacke and Morada 2010; Sukma 2012). Three years since the adoption of the ASEAN Intergovernmental

---

<sup>5</sup> Initial ASEAN members Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand; then Brunei (Darussalam) in 1984; Vietnam in 1995; Lao PDR (Laos) and Myanmar in 1997; and Cambodia in 1999.

Commission on Human Rights (AICHR), arguably the most progressive challenge to TAC, there has been concern that this institution risks irrelevance unless the ‘AICHR [becomes] more creative in articulating and developing a number of mechanisms that need to be implemented in its Terms of Reference (ToR) including: a mechanism for providing advisory services and technical assistance (Article 4.7), on consultation with its stakeholders (Article 4.9), to obtain information from member states (Article 4.10), public information and communication (Article 6.9) and on the review (Article 9.6)’ (Wahyuningrum 2013, see also Davies 2013). Nor, despite calls by civil society organizations within the ASEAN region during the drafting of the ASEAN Charter (Caballero-Anthony 2009: 72), was there any success in achieving direct reference to women’s peace and security under the work of the ASEAN political-security pillar.

In 2009, the Cha-am Hua Hin Declaration on the Roadmap for the ASEAN Community (2009-2015) was published, this blueprint details how the ASEAN Vision 2020 of a community of peace, freedom and prosperity may be realised through the regional engagement around three community pillars – the political-security community, economic community and socio-cultural community.

We contend that this structure of three communities has constrained the organization’s engagement with the WPS agenda. In the ASEAN political-security community pillar women are presented as benefitting from the peace and security; but not, crucially, presented as being essential and conducive to its realisation. Despite the WPS agenda and the progressive development of a human rights response to violence against women and socio-economic rights, ASEAN mechanisms and policies on gender have remained predominantly the concern of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community and, to a lesser extent, the ASEAN Economic Community. There has been reference to violence against women, in particular, as requiring engagement from all three ASEAN Communities in the ASEAN Declaration on Violence against Women and ACWC. But there remains no record of direct reference to women’s peace and security at ASEAN Foreign Ministerial meetings and joint statements, nor to the UNSCR 1325 in the ASEAN Political-Security Community – despite such calls by civil society organizations within the ASEAN region (Caballero-Anthony 2009: 72). This section examines the absence of women from ASEAN’s political-security



community and suggests that herein lies the principal limitations to WPS in the region.

The ASEAN political-security community has three central characteristics. These are:

- a) A Rules-based Community of shared values and norms;
- b) A Cohesive, Peaceful, Stable and Resilient Region with shared responsibility for comprehensive security; and
- c) A Dynamic and Outward-looking Region in an increasingly integrated and interdependent world (ASEAN 2009b: 6).

In the operationalization priorities under each of these three characteristics, gender mainstreaming is referred to once in the context of peace building and women are referred to only once in the context of protection from trafficking (ASEAN 2009b: 6-18). There is reference to the need for the political-security pillar to engage with the two other pillars (economic and socio-cultural) to ensure the promotion and support of 'gender-mainstreaming, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality' (ASEAN 2009b: 6). However, there is no engagement with the issue of women's empowerment at the home, in society and in the security sector as a means to security. Nor is there consideration of the gendered ramifications of how the political-security priorities are ordered, nor is there reference to ensuring the inclusion of women in ASEAN political-security inter-sectoral bodies and meetings (ASEAN 2009b: A1.1). As Fionnuala Ní Aoláin and her colleagues argue, 'absence of women' in political and security environments 'clearly affects' substantive progress in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and relief and recovery (2011: 91).

The way that ASEAN has employed gender reflects the organization's persistent gender biases and its narrow approach to gender mainstreaming identified by others (Elias 2010; True et al 2012). First, the list of security priorities under this pillar, termed 'comprehensive security' (ASEAN 2009b: 11), are not comprehensive. There is no mention of women's peace and security in ASEAN's 2020 Vision of political security, ignoring the fact that UNSCR 1325 calls upon regional organizations to engage in gender mainstreaming. Second, there is no gender narrative in the ASEAN discussion of 'comprehensive security'. This is evident in the way that gender is discussed in the texts on ASEAN's political-security community: there are few definitions or benchmarks to illustrate what gender goals would look like in the

political-security context. The only reference to women's inclusion in peace and security is their empowerment through the protection of women that would occur if states fulfilled their human rights obligations. But, even then, these references fall under the socio-cultural community pillar. In the political-security blueprint there is an absence of reference to women as political participants and security actors. In the ASEAN 2009-2015 Roadmap document, when the ASEAN Political-Security Community considers women it does so in a paternalistic fashion – women's empowerment is primarily achieved through individual protection. Women do not appear to be regarded as being fundamental contributors to the region's peace and security.

We do not dispute the need for ASEAN member states to prioritise the adoption of legislation on violence against women, address women's economic, health and education inequality in the region, as well as to recognise women's right to representation in legal and political processes. But we question the institution's approach to gender mainstreaming primarily through the economic and social pillar without reference to women's role in regional peace and security. Resolution 1325 established a positive correlation between international peace and security and the 'equal participation and full involvement of women in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security' (UNSC 2000: 1). At present, it appears that exclusion of women's security from political-security pillar stems from ASEAN's institutional design with a three pillar approach informed by conservative, traditional views on what areas may be discussed as regional security concerns, versus those that should remain political-technical policies to be implemented in the domestic realm (Ofreneo 2008; Davies 2013).

Despite the relevance of the WPS agenda for the conflict, post conflict and rebuilding situations amongst ASEAN state membership, the institutional structure of ASEAN has precluded engagement with WPS as a political-security concern. At present, women are primarily viewed in need of protection rather than empowerment under the ASEAN political-security pillar. Paradoxically, this produces a situation where women are not protected because they are not empowered. We see the consequences of this across the ASEAN region where 'traditional attitudes limiting women's political participation are reinforced by unequal human development and women's

poor access to food, land, assets, finance, technology, education, training and economic opportunity in developing countries where these resources are themselves scarce' (True et al 2012: 18). In conflict and post conflict situations these attitudes further constrain and limit women's opportunities across these areas (Ní Aoláin et al 2011: 253), which in turn, limit the prospect of peace and security in those societies. Having outlined the consequences of failure to engage with WPS in the region, and the institutional design that explains this failure; we now offer some modest recommendations to address the 1325 gap in the ASEAN membership and regional organization.

## **Recommendations**

The strong affirmative commitment given by the ASEAN delegation at the open debate on WPS at the Security Council in April 2013 is, we argue, an important starting point for discussions at the regional level about promoting an ASEAN political-security commitment to WPS. As has been follow up events including, reference to WPS resolutions in the ACWC Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Children (October 2013); and the two day workshop on 'Women, Peace and Security in ASEAN' organised by the Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, in cooperation with UN Women (December 2013). The experience of other regional and sub-regional arrangements has shown how the coordination at the regional level to establish a broad framework and time-bound goals for advancing WPS can serve as an 'intermediate step' for the implementation of UNSCR1325 from the international to national level (United Nations 2010: 24). Regional action plans serve to amplify the comparative strengths of WPS policy and programming among member states, exchange expert knowledge and best practice, pool financial and human resources, and apply positive pressure for member states to share responsibility and accountability for reaching common WPS objectives. The benefits are not operational alone—by committing to support member states to implement the WPS agenda, regional arrangements send a strong normative message that success of regional peace and security institutions will be judged by their responsiveness to the perspectives and priorities of women. In this section we suggest three recommendations that ASEAN, with the support of its donor partners,

could adopt in the immediate short term to address ASEAN's implementation gap concerning UNSCR 1325.

First, the ASEAN Secretariat, with the assistance of supportive donor states such as United States of America, Australia, European Union and Canada, could organize a workshop on WPS that invites High Level ministerial attendance from the political-security community. This may be an opportune time given the ASEAN statement of support for WPS in the Security Council in April 2013 where the Viet Nam delegation noted their role in presiding over the passage of UNSCR1889 on WPS in 2009 (Vietnam News Agency 2013) key civil society organizations within Southeast Asia increasingly calling for more robust support and action to promote the WPS agenda in the region, and the current diplomatic efforts of the ASEAN Human Rights Working Group to bring WPS into focus of the ASEAN Secretariat (Chandrakirana 2013).

We would suggest a Joint Dialogue Workshop on UNSCR 1325, co-hosted by the ASEAN Political-Security Community and Socio-Economic Community, convened to discuss the process for cross-institutional engagement in the development of an ASEAN 1325 action plan. Such a workshop could focus on investigating the findings from the December 2013 Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism on Women, Peace and Security, but at a deeper institutional level, assist in overcoming the present separation of gender equality and participation from ASEAN's political-security agenda. Such a Joint Dialogue is not unprecedented in recent ASEAN history with a number of cross-pillar workshops having been held in the last decade to discuss cooperation concerning environment and pollution, infectious disease containment, disaster management and response, as well as migration (Caballero-Anthony 2012). Indeed, the ASEAN 2009-2015 Roadmap specifically refers to, under political-security community section, the need to promote gender mainstreaming workshops across ASEAN sectoral bodies (ASEAN 2009: A1.1.ii), and a need to, specifically, 'strengthen interaction between the network of existing human rights mechanisms as well as other civil society organisations, with relevant ASEAN sectoral bodies' (ASEAN 2009: A1.5.iv).

Donor engagement and support for such a workshop is vital due to the institutional and budget constraints in the ASEAN Secretariat. Australia is regionally and diplomatically well placed to support such a workshop and dialogue with its ASEAN partners. Australia's first Global Ambassador for Women and Girls, Penny Williams, signalled at the Inaugural ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women, Australia's support to ASEAN initiatives on violence against women, trafficking and poverty reduction. However, as a UN Women South Asia meeting noted in 2012 (UN Women South Asia 2012), there is also a need for greater investment by donors on regional conferences concerning gender issues in situations where conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building is taking place (UN Women South Asia 2012). Given the international commitments that Australia outlined as recently as this year (above, in Beijing), and Australia's ongoing relationship with ASEAN concerning gender mainstreaming programs, there is the potential for Australian government to play a supportive role in assisting ASEAN dialogue on a WPS action plan.

Second, there should be an institutional home for research on WPS in the ASEAN region. In 2012 and 2013, Jakarta – home of ASEAN Secretariat –hosted the ASEAN-UN Lessons Learned Workshop on Conflict Prevention, Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peace-building. In both workshops, there was much discussion about the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) (ASEAN 2013b).

The AIPR provides an important institutional and research driven location to explore cases specific to the ASEAN region where grassroots experiences of gender engagement and empowerment as part of conflict prevention, reconciliation and peace building has facilitated peace and security in those communities. Moreover, such an institutional location for WPS would provide an opportunity for the region to build expertise on WPS engagement as part of its ongoing efforts to facilitate peace and reconciliation in current situations.

Third, UN peacekeeping missions are now routinely tasked to implement aspects of the WPS agenda, and have adopted the target goal for women to comprise twenty per cent of total UN peacekeeping contingents by 2014. From ASEAN member states, in mid-2013, 3,919 personnel served in UN peacekeeping missions, and regional leaders

indicated their interest in augmenting these contributions (UN DPKO 2013).<sup>6</sup>

Developing WPS expertise and increasing the number of women in the security sector in ASEAN countries would build the region's capacity to meet the challenges set by UN peacekeeping; at the same it would facilitate regional and national level gender mainstreaming their own policy, security and defence structures – significantly absent from discussions in ASEAN to this date (i.e. Dharmapuri 2012; Timur 2013; with one exception the revised publication of the *Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on the Women, Peace, and Security agenda in the Asia Pacific*, an information and course guide jointly published by UN Women and Peace Operations Training Institute, UN 2014). In the 2014 ASEAN-UN dialogue - we would suggest the inclusion of a panel on gender and peacekeeping - which addresses how ASEAN member states and the UN Department of Peacekeeping can work cooperatively to increase the participation of Southeast Asian women in UN peacekeeping, and enhance training on good practice for operationalizing WPS within UN peacekeeping mandates.

## **Conclusion**

ASEAN member states have a responsibility to implement UNSCR 1325 and the region has made important institutional statements concerning the protection of women's human rights and preventing violence against women. However, as vital and progressive as these developments are, ASEAN still addresses and promotes the realisation of regional security *without* women. As we have argued in this article, this is not because the ASEAN region has successfully included women in security sector reform, conflict prevention and reconciliation practices.

Despite its decade-long engagement with gender mainstreaming and gender empowerment, ASEAN has not meaningfully considered how the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and has not situated women as central agents for regional peace and security. We argue that this has occurred because ASEAN has not engaged with its gendered view of security and narrow promotion of gender mainstreaming. We suggest that ASEAN's WPS engagement has been handicapped by the location of

---

<sup>6</sup> This tally includes 30 from Brunei, 373 from Cambodia, 1,822 from Indonesia, 968 from Malaysia, 706 from the Philippines, and 20 from Thailand.

‘women’s issues’ within ASEAN’s institutional architecture - ASEAN policymaking on the protection and promotion of women’s human rights has been largely confined to socio-cultural or economic policy areas. Women are rarely discussed or referred to in the political-security community as facilitators, providers and guarantors of national, local or regional security. In order to begin to nudge the association to do better, we made three specific recommendations to address the WPS gap in the immediate short term – an ASEAN Joint Community workshop to discuss engagement in WPS, the location of regional research and dialogue on WPS in the AIPR, and the ASEAN-UN dialogue on developing gender expertise in peacekeeping missions. An ASEAN WPS action plan would help to identify priorities to guide and mobilize a diverse set of (sub) regional institutions, government branches and other stakeholders in coordinating the implementation of UNSCR 1325 to advance gender justice and promote durable peace in the Asia Pacific.

## References

ACW (ASEAN Committee on Women) (2006) *Work Plan to Operationalize the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in ASEAN*.  
[http://www.dpiap.org/resources/pdf/ASEAN-DeVAW\\_Work\\_Plan\\_10\\_07\\_01.pdf](http://www.dpiap.org/resources/pdf/ASEAN-DeVAW_Work_Plan_10_07_01.pdf) (accessed 7 August 2013).

ACWO (ASEAN Confederation of Women’s Organizations) (2013) ‘About ACWO’.  
<http://acwoorg.preview.ne.com.sg/about-acwo/> (accessed 16 July 2013).

Acharya, Amitav (2004) ‘How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism’, *International Organization*, 58 (2): 239-275.

Acharya, Amitav (2009) *Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Alvsåker, Herborg Fiskaa (2012) ‘Norwegian support to Human Rights Resource Centre’s study on violence, exploitation and migration affecting women and children in ASEAN’, *Norway: the official site in Indonesia*, 31 May 2012.  
[http://www.norway.or.id/Norway\\_in\\_Indonesia/ASEAN/Supporting-the-ASEAN-Commission-for-Women-and-Children-/](http://www.norway.or.id/Norway_in_Indonesia/ASEAN/Supporting-the-ASEAN-Commission-for-Women-and-Children-/) (accessed 17 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2004) ‘ASEAN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in the ASEAN Region’, 30 June 2004.  
<http://www.asean.org/communities/asean-political-security-community/item/declaration-on-the-elimination-of-violence-against-women-in-the-asean-region-4> (accessed 31 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2009a) ‘Terms of Reference for the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Women and Children’, ASEAN Secretariat, February 2010. <http://www.aseansec.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/07/TOR-ACWC.pdf> (accessed 16 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2009b) 'Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015', ASEAN Secretariat, '<http://www.aseansec.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/RoadmapASEANCommunity.pdf>' (accessed 26 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2012) 'ASEAN Ministerial meeting on Women'. <http://www.asean.org/communities/asean-socio-cultural-community/category/asean-ministerial-meeting-on-women-ammw> (accessed 15 July 2013)

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2012b) 'Media Statement of the First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women (AMMW)', 19 October 2012. [http://www.asean.org/images/2012/Social\\_cultural/ACW/Press\\_release/Media%20Statement%20of%20the%20First%20AMMW\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.asean.org/images/2012/Social_cultural/ACW/Press_release/Media%20Statement%20of%20the%20First%20AMMW_FINAL.pdf) (accessed 15 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2012c) 'ASEAN Human Rights Declaration', 18 November 2012. <http://www.asean.org/news/asean-statement-communiques/item/asean-human-rights-declaration> (accessed 16 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2012d) *ASEAN Committee on Women Work Plan 2011-2015*. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/111760329/ASEAN-Committee-on-Women-ACW-Work-Plan-2011-2015> (accessed 7 August 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2013a) 'Seventh Press Release of the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC)'. *ASEAN Secretariat News*, 24 July 2013.

<http://www.asean.org/component/zoo/item/seventh-press-release-of-the-asean-commission-on-the-promotion-and-protection-of-the-rights-of-women-and-children-acwc?Itemid=101> (accessed 30 July 2013).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (2013b) 'Opening Address by H.E. R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa Minister for Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia At the 2nd ASEAN-UN Workshop on Conflict Prevention and Preventive Diplomacy', 5 April.

<http://www.asean.org/news/item/opening-address-by-he-rm-marty-m-natalegawa-minister-for-foreign-affairs-republic-of-indonesia-at-the-2nd-asean-un-workshop-on-conflict-prevention-and-preventive-diplomacy-2> (accessed 5 August 2013).

Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (2014) 'Terms of Reference Regional Advocacy Strategy Meeting: Advancing Local Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in Asia's Conflict-affected Communities: 8-9 February 2014: Bangkok – Thailand', On file with author (Sara Davies).

Associated Press (2009) '5 women killed in Philippines political massacre may have been raped, tests suggest', 3 December.

Australian Government (2012) 'Address to the Inaugural ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women, Penny Williams, Australia's Global Ambassador for Women', ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women, Vientiane, 19 October.

<http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/department/121019-asean.html> (accessed 5 August 2013).

Australian Government (2013) 'Opening Address by Penny Williams, Australia's Global Ambassador for Women', 5th East Asia Gender Equality Ministerial Meeting Australia's statement to Plenary I – Gender mainstreaming – achievements and challenges, Beijing, 15-16 May.

[http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/department/130515\\_eagemm\\_plen1.html](http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/department/130515_eagemm_plen1.html) (accessed 5 August 2013).



Bellamy, Alex J. and Catherine Drummond (2011) 'The responsibility to protect in Southeast Asia: between non-interference and sovereignty as responsibility', *The Pacific Review* 24 (2): 179-200.

Caballero-Anthony, Mely (2009) 'Southeast Asia's points of convergence on international intervention', in Peou, Sorpong (ed.) *Human Security in Asia: Challenges for collaborative action* (London: Routledge).

Caballero-Anthony, Mely (2012) 'The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: Opening Up Spaces for Advancing Human Security', *The Pacific Review* 25 (1): 113-134.

Chandrakirana, Kamala (2013) 'Public Lecture: Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Asia: Towards a Context-responsive Approach from the Bottom Up', ANU College of Asia and Pacific, 15 November 2013.  
<http://wpsac.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/anu-presentation-on-wps-final.pdf>  
(accessed 23 February 2014).

Chongkittavorn, Kavi (2012) 'ASEAN Secretariat Must be Strengthened', *The Irrawaddy*, 21 May. <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/4610> (accessed 5 August 2013).

CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) (2010) 'Project Profile for Support to Establish the ASEAN Commission on Women and Children', *Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada*, 30 March.  
<http://www.acdicida.gc.ca/cidaweb/cpo.nsf/vWebCCEn/CC8381F812428014852576EA00372173> (accessed 23 July 2013).

Cohn, Carol with Helen Kinsella and Sheri Gibbings (2004) 'Women, Peace and Security: Resolution 1325', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6 (1): 130-140.

Davies, Mathew (2013) 'ASEAN and human rights norms: constructivism, rational choice, and the action-identity gap', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 13 (2): 207-231.

Davies, Sara E. (2012) 'The international politics of disease reporting: Towards post-Westphalianism?', *International Politics* 49 (4): 591-613.

Davies, Sara and Sarah Teitt (2013) 'Realizing Commitments to Women, Peace and Security in Southeast Asia', *APR2P Brief* 3(2).  
[http://www.r2pasiapacific.org/docs/R2P%20Ideas%20in%20Brief/Realizing\\_WPS\\_in\\_SEA.pdf](http://www.r2pasiapacific.org/docs/R2P%20Ideas%20in%20Brief/Realizing_WPS_in_SEA.pdf) (accessed 11 July 2013).

D'Costa, Bina and Katrina Lee-Koo (2009) 'Critical Feminist International Relations in the Asia-Pacific', in Bina D'Costa and Katrina Lee-Koo (ed.), *Gender and Global Politics in the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 3-18.

Dharmapuri, Sahana (2012) 'Implementing the UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Putting the Responsibility to Protect into Practice', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 4 (2): 241-271.

Dharmapuri, Sahana (2013) 'Core Issues Stall Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping', Global Observatory, International Peace Institute, 13 March.  
<http://www.theglobalobservatory.org/analysis/455-core-issues-stall-womens-participation-in-un-peacekeeping.html> (5 August 2013).

- Elias, Juanita (2010) 'Gendered Political Economy and the Politics of Migrant Worker Rights: The View from Southeast Asia', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 64 (1): 70-85.
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E. (2013) 'Different in Asia? Developmental states, trade, and international conflict onset and escalation', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 13 (2): 175-205.
- Haacke, Jürgen and Paul D. Williams (2008) 'Regional arrangements, securitization, and transnational security challenges: the African Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations compared', *Security Studies* 17 (4): 1-35.
- Haacke, Jürgen (2009) 'Myanmar, the Responsibility to Protect and the Need for Practical Assistance', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1 (2): 156-184.
- Haacke, Jürgen and Noel M. Morada (2010) 'The ASEAN Regional Forum and cooperative security: introduction'. in Haacke, Jürgen and Morada, Noel M., (eds.) *Cooperative security in the Asia-Pacific: the ASEAN Regional Forum* (Oxford, UK: Routledge), p. 1-12.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie and Mark A. Pollack (2002) 'Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance', *European Journal of International Relations*, 8 (3): 339-373.
- Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi (2012) *Gender Gap Report*. 2012. World Economic Forum.  
[http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GenderGap\\_Report\\_2012.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf) (accessed 24 July 2013).
- Heldström, Jenny (2013) 'Where are the women? Negotiations for peace in Burma', The Swedish Burma Committee,  
[http://www.oxfordburmaalliance.org/uploads/9/1/8/4/9184764/where-are-the-women\\_2013\\_report.pdf](http://www.oxfordburmaalliance.org/uploads/9/1/8/4/9184764/where-are-the-women_2013_report.pdf) (accessed 30 July 2013).
- Htun, Mala and S. Laurel Weldon (2012) 'The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975–2005', *American Political Science Review*, 106 (3): 548-569.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott and Chad F. Emmett (2009) 'The Heart of the Matter: the Security of Women and the Security of States', *International Security*, 33 (3): 7–45.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill (2013) 'WomanStats Codebook',  
<http://www.womanstats.org/CodebookCurrent.htm> (accessed 26 July 2013).
- Johnston, Alistair Iain (2012) 'What (If Anything) Does East Asia Tell Us About International Relations Theory?', *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 53-78.
- Kamaruzzaman, Suraiya (2008) 'Agents for Change: The Roles of Women in Aceh's Peace Process', in *Reconfiguring Politics: The Indonesia-Aceh Peace Process*, Accord Insight 20,  
<http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/agents-change-roles-women-acehs-peace-process> (accessed 30 July 2013).
- Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True (2012) 'Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality', *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 103-127.

Lahtaw, Ja Nan, and Nang Raw (2012) 'Myanmar's Current Peace Process: A New Role for Women?', Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 17 December.

<http://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar%E2%80%99s-current-peace-processes-new-role-women> (accessed 30 July 2013).

Lee-Koo, Katrina (2007) 'Security as Enslavement, security as emancipation: gendered legacies and feminist futures in the Asia-Pacific', in Anthony Burke and Matt McDonald (eds.), *Critical security in the Asia-Pacific* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 231-246.

Lee-Koo, Katrina (2012) 'Gender at the Crossroad of Conflict: Tsunami and Peace in Post-2005 Aceh', *Feminist Review* 101: 59-77.

Mizzima News (2013) 'Burma: Amid Praise, End to Sexual Violence: G8', 12 April 2013. <http://www.mizzima.com/news/world/9219-amid-praise-end-to-sexual-violence-g8> (accessed 19 July 2013).

Morada, Noel M. (2009) The ASEAN Charter and the Promotion of R2P in Southeast Asia: Challenges and Constraints, *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1 (2): 185-207.

Narkvichien, Montira, and Rachel Gasser (2013) 'We Broke the Zero Rule: Trained 22 Kachin Women Peace Makers', UN Women Report, 01 June. <http://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/we-broke-zero-rule-trained-22-kachin-women-peace-makers> (accessed 30 July 2013).

Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Dina Francesca Haynes and Naomi Cahn (2011) *On the Frontlines: Gender, War and the Post-Conflict Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Ofreneo, Rene (2008) 'Strengthening Migrant Protection in an Integrating ASEAN', *Philippine Journal of Labor and Industrial Relations*, 28 (2): 97-98.

Organization of American States (2011) At OAS, Experts Urge Greater Participation by Women in Strengthening of Peace and Security, OAS Press Release, 7 April. [http://www.oas.org/en/media\\_center/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=E-609/11](http://www.oas.org/en/media_center/press_release.asp?sCodigo=E-609/11) (accessed 5 August 2013).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2012) SIGI. Social Institutions and Gender Index. Understanding the drivers of gender inequality, SIGI Social Institutions & Gender Index. [www.genderindex.org](http://www.genderindex.org) (accessed 26 July 2013).

PeaceWomen (2013) 'National Implementation'. <http://peacewomen.org/naps/#> (accessed 26 July 2013).

Philippine Commission Women (2009) 'ASEAN Committee on Women'. <http://pcw.gov.ph/international-commitments/acw> (accessed 17 July 2013).

Pratt, Nicole (2013) 'Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial-Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security"', *International Studies Quarterly*, online access 19 February (accessed 25 August 2013).

Shepherd, Laura J. (2008) 'Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *International Studies Quarterly*, 52 (2): 383-404.

Shepherd, Laura J. (2011) 'Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4): 504 – 521.

Sulaiman, Aisyah (2013) 'Asean edict targets violence', *New Straits Times*, 25 July.  
<http://www.nst.com.my/nation/general/asean-edict-targets-violence-1.326119#ixzz2a1j6D3cT> (accessed 23 July 2013).

Terms of Reference (ToR) (2009) Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team, 9 December. [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpDocuments\)/B8852D6F43E8102FC125774C0053C523/\\$file/CPC-TOR.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpDocuments)/B8852D6F43E8102FC125774C0053C523/$file/CPC-TOR.pdf) (accessed 30 July).

Timur, Fitriani Bintang (2013) Recruiting More Women: Broadening SAF's Inclusive Policy, RSIS Commentaries No. 143, 31 July.  
<http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/Perspective/RSIS1432013.pdf>

True, Jacqui (2008) 'Global Accountability and Transnational Networks: The Women Leaders Network and the Asia Pacific Economic Forum', *Pacific Review* 21 (1): 1-26.

True, Jacqui, Sara Niner, Swati Parashar and Nicole George (2012) Women's Political Participation in Asia and the Pacific, SSRC Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum.  
<http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/files/2013/02/UNDPA-Women%E2%80%99s-Political-Participation-in-Asia-and-the-Pacific.pdf> (accessed 26 July 2013).

True, Jacqui (2013) *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Trung, Le Haoi (2013) 'Statement by H.E. Ambassador Le Haoi Trung Permanent Representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on behalf of Member States of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security', *Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations*, 17 April. <http://www.vietnamun.org/en/vnun.php?id=243> (accessed 17 July 2013).

United Kingdom Government, G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting Statement (2013) 11 April.  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/g8-foreign-ministers-meeting-statement> (accessed 16 July 2013).

United Nations (2010) Planning for action on Women and Peace and Security. National-level implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000). United Nations and International Alert.  
<http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/102010UNWomenPeaceSecurity.pdf> (accessed 5 August 2013).

United Nations (2014) *Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions on the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda in the Asia Pacific*. UN Women and POTI.  
[https://poti-courses.s3.amazonaws.com/WPS\\_AP\\_EN\\_140110.pdf?Signature=lo%2F%2Fp64OI9DNBQwGgJDjQv%2FrXkA%3D&Expires=1393217761&AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAJJNGXNKXR6HTABKQ](https://poti-courses.s3.amazonaws.com/WPS_AP_EN_140110.pdf?Signature=lo%2F%2Fp64OI9DNBQwGgJDjQv%2FrXkA%3D&Expires=1393217761&AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAJJNGXNKXR6HTABKQ) (accessed 23 February 2014).

UNDPKO (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations) (2013), 'Monthly Summary of Contributions --Police, UN Military Experts on Mission and Troops'.

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml> (accessed 30 July 2013).

UNESCO (1998) E/CN.6/1998/12-E/1998/27, 'Commission on the Status of Women Report on the Forty-Second Session', (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1998). section II. Women and Armed Conflict, para B.

UNESCAP (2011) 'Women must have a greater role in conflict-prevention and peacebuilding in Asia-Pacific', News Release, G/43/2011, 16 September.  
<http://www.unescap.org/unis/press/2011/sep/g43.asp> (accessed 26 July 2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (2000) Resolution 1325, S/ReS/Res/1325, 31 October 2000. [http://www.un.org/events/res\\_1325e.pdf](http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf) (accessed 26 July 2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (2008) 'Resolution 1820', S/RES/1820.  
[http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions08.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions08.htm) (accessed 26 July 2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (2009a) 'Resolution 1888', S/RES/1888.  
[http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions09.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions09.htm) (accessed 26 July 2013).

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (2009b) 'Resolution 1889', S/RES/1889.  
[http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions09.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions09.htm) (accessed 26 July 2013)

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (2010) 'Resolution 1960', S/RES/1960.  
[http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions10.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions10.htm) (accessed 26 July 2013)

United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (2013) 'Resolution 2106, S/RES/2106.  
[http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions13.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions13.htm) (accessed 26 July 2013)

UN Women Asia and the Pacific (2014) 'Opening remarks of Roberta Clarke at the Asia-Pacific Civil Society Consultation', UN Women Asia and the Pacific, 10 February.  
<http://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2014/2/opening-remarks-of-roberta-clarke-at-the-asia-pacific-civil-society-consultation#sthash.TXuVwGNA.dpuf> (accessed 24 February 2014).

UN Women South Asia (2012) 'Women at the peace table : Global perspectives and priorities on women's rights, peace and security', 13-15 March.  
<http://www.unwomensouthasia.org/2012/women-at-the-peace-table-global-perspectives-and-priorities-on-womens-rights-peace-and-security/#sthash.F3Iz3otG.dpuf> (accessed 26 July 2013).

UN Women (2006) 'ASEAN and UNIFEM sign a Framework for Cooperation Agreement to Advance Gender Equality in ASEAN', 3 August 2006. [http://www.unwomen-eseasia.org/News/Asean\\_unifem\\_sign.html](http://www.unwomen-eseasia.org/News/Asean_unifem_sign.html) (accessed 23 July 2013).

UN Women (2012) 'Remarks by UN Women Deputy Executive Director John Hendra at the first ASEAN Ministerial meeting on UN Women', 19 October 2012.  
<http://www.unwomen.org/2012/10/remarks-by-un-women-deputy-executive-director-john-hendra-at-the-first-asean-ministerial-meeting-on-un-women/> (accessed 26 July 2013).

UN Women 'Women, Peace and Security', UN Women Issue Briefs on Women's Human Rights in the ASEAN Region, undated. [http://cedaw-seasia.org/docs/issue\\_brief/Issue\\_Brief\\_Women%20Peace%20and%20Security.pdf](http://cedaw-seasia.org/docs/issue_brief/Issue_Brief_Women%20Peace%20and%20Security.pdf) (accessed 30 July 2013).

Vietnam News Agency (2013) ASEAN vows to eliminate violence against women, 18 April. <http://en.vietnamplus.vn/Home/ASEAN-vows-to-eliminate-violence-against-women/20134/33597.vnplus> (accessed 5 August 2013).

Vietnam Women's Union (2010) 'The 14<sup>th</sup> ACWO General Assembly & Conference: Enhancing Women's Effective Participation towards an ASEAN of Peace, Development and Prosperity', 19-20 October. <http://acwoorg.preview.ne.com.sg/news-events/the-14th-acwo-general-assembly-conference/> (accessed 17 July 2013).

Wahyuningrum, Yuyun (2013) 'What next for ASEAN human rights commission?', *The Jakarta Post*, 18 March. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/03/18/what-next-asean-human-rights-commission.html> (accessed 26 July 2013).

WHO, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and South African Medical Research Council (2013) Global and regional estimates of violence against women. Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence (Geneva: WHO). <http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/9789241564625/en/index.html> (accessed 26 July 2013).